

The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest

The Hellenistic period (323–30 BC) began with the considerable expansion of the Greek world through the Macedonian conquest of the Persian empire and ended with Rome becoming the predominant political force in that world. This new and enlarged edition of Michel Austin's seminal work provides a panoramic view of this world through the medium of ancient sources. It now comprises over three hundred texts from literary, epigraphic and papyrological sources which are presented in original translations and supported by introductory sections, detailed notes and references, chronological tables, maps, illustrations of coins, and a full analytical index. The first edition has won widespread admiration since its publication in 1981. Updated and expanded with reference to the most recent scholarship on the subject, this new edition will prove invaluable for the study of a period which has received increasing recognition.

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The Hellenistic World From Alexander to the Roman Conquest

A selection of ancient sources in translation

Second augmented edition

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Illustrations

The coins illustrated here represent only a minute fraction of what is extant for this period and necessarily give a very limited impression of the potential of numismatic evidence. The selection concentrates on the major monarchies (Plates 1, 3, 4), together with a few examples from Greek leagues and cities (Plate 2), and is unrepresentative in various ways. The coins illustrated have been chosen because of their visual quality and state of preservation, but not all Greek coins were so well crafted and or have survived in good condition. The selection is also mostly from large denominations (tetradrachms unless otherwise stated), which allowed engravers to include more detail, but there existed also a profusion of smaller denominations, essential for small-scale local transactions. Bronze coins are not represented either, though they were widely used by cities and monarchies (cf. **40**, **115** ll. 70 and 140, **123**, **163** n. 8, **252** nn. 16 and 17); their designs are generally less fine than those of coins in precious metals. All coins listed are of silver unless otherwise stated.

The entries below list the issuing authority, the mint and approximate date of issue where known, and a brief description of the types and inscribed legends (*obv* = obverse, the anvil die, and *rev* = reverse, the punch die). The legend always identifies the issuing authority in the genitive case – king, league, or city – but never the deities who were frequently represented on coin types, the identity of which was taken for granted. Modern convention numbers rulers of the same name sequentially (Ptolemy I, Ptolemy II etc.), but the practice is never found on Greek coins; the addition of epithets (the Great etc.) was only introduced late in the period.

Plate 1: Alexander, the Successors, the Antigonids (p. 10)

1. Alexander the Great. Amphipolis c.324/3, *obv* Heracles with scalp of Nemean lion, *rev* Zeus seated holding eagle, legend *basileos Alexandrou*. On Alexander's use of the royal title cf. **6** n. 1.
2. Philip III Arrhidaeus. Susa after 323, *obv* Heracles with scalp of Nemean lion, *rev* Zeus seated holding eagle, legend *basileos Philippou*. Cf. **26** on Philip Arrhidaeus.
3. Lysimachus. Amphipolis c.288/7–282/1, *obv* Alexander deified with diadem and ram's horn, *rev* Athena seated holding a figure of Nike (Victory),

Illustrations

- legend *basileos Lysimachou*. The ram's horn alludes to Alexander's claimed descent from Zeus Ammon (cf. **9**; Smith [1988], 40). On Lysimachus cf. **56** and on his association with Alexander cf. Stewart (1993), 318–21.
4. Demetrius Poliorcetes. Pella c.292/1, *obv* Demetrius with diadem and bull's horns, *rev* Poseidon with trident, legend *basileos Demetriou*. Cf. **43** n. 3, **57** n. 12. Demetrius and Ptolemy I (Plate 4.25) were the first rulers to put their portraits on their coins.
 5. Antigonus II Gonatas. Amphipolis c.271–265, *obv* Pan on a Macedonian shield, *rev* Athena, legend *basileos Antigonou*. The god Pan had reportedly created terror among the Celtic tribes at the battle of Lysimachea in 277.
 6. Antigonus II Gonatas or Antigonus III Doson. Attribution and date uncertain, *obv* Poseidon, *rev* Apollo on prow of ship, legend *basileos Antigonou*. On the problem of attribution cf. Hammond and Walbank (1988), 594f. Poseidon and the prow recall the maritime symbolism of the coins of Demetrius Poliorcetes (cf. **43** n. 3) and the continued naval ambitions of the Antigonids, in rivalry with the Ptolemies (cf. **61**).
 7. Philip V. Pella? c.220–217, *obv* Philip V with diadem, *rev* Athena, legend *basileos Philippou*. Philip V was the first Antigonid ruler since Demetrius to put his portrait on his coins.
 8. Perseus. Amphipolis? c.178–173, *obv* Perseus with diadem, *rev* eagle of Zeus on thunderbolt within a wreath, legend *basileos Perseos*.

Plate 2: Greek leagues and cities (p. 11)

9. Aetolian League. c.220–189, *obv* Heracles with scalp of Nemean lion, *rev* figure seated on a pile of shields, legend *Aitolon*. The Heracles type on the obverse is borrowed from Alexander's coinage. The figure on the reverse alludes to the statue personifying Aetolia set up by the Aetolians at Delphi to celebrate the defeat of the Celtic invaders (Pausanias X.18.7, cf. **60**); cf. **64** on the Aetolian League.
10. Achaean League. Half-drachma, Patras c.195–168, *obv* Zeus, *rev* wreath, legend *Achai(on)*. Cf. **67** on the Achaean League.
11. Nabis of Sparta. c.207–196, *obv* Athena with helmet, *rev* Heracles seated with club, legend *Nabios*. Sparta's kingship, though very different in origin and character (**70**), came to be influenced by the major Hellenistic monarchies. Coinage was first introduced in Sparta in the reign of Areus (**61** n. 6). The very rare issues of Nabis (**79**) clearly seek to emulate contemporary royal coinages; on another issue he bears the royal title.
12. Rhodes. Gold didrachm, c.333/2–323, *obv* Helios, *rev* rose, legend *Rhodian*. The sun god Helios was patron of the island, which took its name

Illustrations

- from the rose (*rhodos*). The types go back to the foundation of the unitary state of Rhodes in 407.
13. Samos. 8 obols (1½ drachma), c.270–240, *obv* lion scalp, *rev* forepart of ox, legend *Samion*. Both types are associated with the city's goddess Hera and were used since classical times.
 14. Crete, Hierapytna. Didrachm, c.310–280/70, *obv* Zeus, *rev* eagle and palm tree, legend *Iera(pytnion)*. Cf. **113**, **152** on Hierapytna.
 15. Athens. Gold didrachm, c.297–294, *obv* Athena, *rev* owl, legend *Athe(naion)*. These are the standard Athenian types current since the classical period.
 16. Athens. *obv* Athena, *rev* owl on a Panathenaic amphora within a wreath, legend *Athe(naion)*. This is an example of the 'New Style' Athenian coinage introduced in the second century; cf. **125**, **129** n. 7.

Plate 3: The Seleucids and Attalids (p. 12)

17. Seleucus I. Seleucia on the Tigris c.292/1, *obv* Zeus, *rev* Athena in chariot drawn by elephants, anchor above, legend *basileos Seleukou*. The elephants will have conveyed a reference to Seleucus' campaign in India in the wake of Alexander; cf. **57** n. 8, **178** and Stewart (1993), 313–17; Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 7. The anchor was a symbol associated with Seleucus; cf. R. A. Hadley, *JHS* 94 (1974), 60f.; Houghton and Lorber I (2002), 5f.
18. Antiochus I. Antioch c.278–268, *obv* Antiochus I with diadem, *rev* Apollo seated on *omphalos*, legend *basileos Antiochou*. From the reign of Antiochus I Seleucid rulers regularly put their portrait on coins; for Apollo and the *omphalos* cf. **175** n. 2.
19. Antiochus II. Apamea c.261–252, *obv* Antiochus II with diadem, *rev* Apollo seated on *omphalos*, legend *basileos Antiochou*.
20. Philetaerus. Pergamum c.274–263, *obv* Seleucus I with diadem, *rev* Athena seated, legend *Philetaerou*. Philetaerus at first issued coins with the name and portrait of Seleucus I; on this coin he now substitutes his own name, though without the royal title, which was not assumed by the Attalids until Attalus I (**231** and n. 1); cf. **224** on Philetaerus.
21. Eumenes I. Pergamum 263–241, *obv* Philetaerus with diadem, *rev* Athena seated, legend *Philetaerou*. Attalid rulers after Philetaerus continued to display the head of the founder of the dynasty on their own coinage.
22. Seleucus II. Antioch c.232–228, *obv* Seleucus II with diadem, *rev* Apollo standing, legend *basileos Seleukou*.
23. Antiochus III. Apamea or Antioch c.223–200, *obv* Antiochus III with diadem, *rev* Apollo seated on *omphalos*, legend *basileos Antiochou*.

Illustrations

24. Antiochus IV. Antioch c.173/2–169/8, *obv* Antiochus IV with diadem, *rev* Apollo seated holding a figure of Nike (Victory), legend *basileos Antiochou theou epiphanous*. Cf. **209** and n. 1 on Antiochus IV; the inflation of titles is characteristic of coinages of the late Hellenistic period, civic as well as royal.

Plate 4: The Ptolemies and Bactrian kings (p. 13)

25. Ptolemy I, Alexandria c.300–283, *obv* Ptolemy I with diadem, *rev* eagle on thunderbolt, legend *basileos Ptolemaiou*. See Plate 1.4.
26. Ptolemy II. Gold octodrachm, Alexandria c.261/0–240, *obv* Arsinoe, *rev* double cornucopia, legend *Arsinoes Philadelphou*. Cf. **254** n. 1 on Arsinoe II Philadelphus (the coin was issued posthumously), **255** n. 6 on the wealth of the Ptolemies. The Ptolemies were the first monarchy to advertise queens on their coinage.
27. Ptolemy II. Gold octodrachm, Alexandria c.261/0–246, *obv* Ptolemy II with diadem and Arsinoe II, legend *adelphon*, *rev* Ptolemy I with diadem and Berenice. The coin emphasises the brother-sister marriage of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe and the continuity of the dynasty; cf. **254** n. 2.
28. Ptolemy III. Gold decadrachm, Alexandria c.246–222, *obv* Berenice II with diadem, *rev* cornucopia, legend *basilisses Berenikes*. Berenice II, wife of Ptolemy III (**265**, **271**), was daughter of Magas of Cyrene (**254**).
29. Ptolemy IV. Gold octodrachm, Alexandria c.222–205, *obv* Ptolemy III with radiate crown and trident, *rev* cornucopia, legend *basileos Ptolemaiou*. The portrait uses divine symbols – the crown of Helios, the sun, and the trident of Poseidon; cf. Smith (1988), 42, 44.
30. Ptolemy V. Gold octodrachm, Alexandria c.204/3, *obv* Ptolemy V with radiate crown and spear, *rev* cornucopia, legend *basileos Ptolemaiou*.
31. Euthydemus of Bactria. Bactra c.230–200, *obv* Euthydemus wearing diadem, *rev* Heracles seated with club, legend *basileos Euthydemou*. See **187**, **188** on Euthydemus.
32. Eucratides I of Bactria. c.171–155?, *obv* Eucratides helmeted, *rev* mounted Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), legend *basileos megalou Eukratidou*. Cf. **188** on the Bactrian kings.

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Preface to the second edition

This is the second and enlarged edition of a book first published in 1981 under the title *The Hellenistic world from Alexander to the Roman conquest. A selection of ancient sources in translation*. Since its original publication there has been a veritable explosion of scholarly work on this period, and the Hellenistic age has moved from a relatively marginal position in academic curricula to one where it is entitled to receive the same kind of attention as any other period in antiquity. I am very grateful to Cambridge University Press for giving me the opportunity to revisit the work after more than twenty years and take into account the development of scholarship that has taken place in the intervening period.

The new edition is similar in scope, purpose and design to the first one, and all the texts previously included have been retained. Nearly 50 texts have been added, some newly discovered or recently published, others already known but not included in the first edition. The book has been completely revised and updated. The structure and presentation of the original has been preserved, though for the sake of clarity chapter 5 (The Seleucids and Asia) is now organised in a single chronological section and chapter 7 (The Ptolemies and Egypt) has been divided into two not three sections, both organised chronologically. Each chapter has been provided with a short introduction to give a conspectus of the texts included. The Table of contents has been enlarged to list all the texts included; there is a new Introduction, and a Concordance between the two editions has been added. The Bibliography now lists all the titles cited in the book, and references have been given throughout according to the standard author–date system.

It is a pleasure to thank those who have assisted in various ways in the preparation of this new edition, notably Kai Brodersen, Peter Derow, John Ma, Graham Oliver, Graham Shipley, Dorothy Thompson, Gregor Weber and Hans-Ulrich Wiemer. Thanks are also due to the anonymous reviewers of the proposal for a new edition, whose suggestions I have sometimes followed and sometimes not. Finally I would like to thank all my colleagues in St Andrews for their continued support over many years. The shortcomings of this book will be evident to them and to all others mentioned here, but they should not

Preface

be held in any way responsible, not least because none of them has seen any part of the book in advance of its publication.

St Andrews, August 2004

Michel Austin

Abbreviations

<i>AfP</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung</i>
<i>Annuario</i>	<i>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene</i>
<i>ASNP</i>	<i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa</i>
<i>Barrington Atlas</i>	<i>Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World</i> , ed. R. J. A. Talbert (Princeton, 2000)
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BD</i>	R. S. Bagnall and P. S. Derow, <i>The Hellenistic period. Historical sources in translation</i> (Oxford, 2003)
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>Bull.</i>	<i>Bulletin Epigraphique</i> in <i>REG</i> (from 1938 to 1984 by J. and L. Robert; from 1987 under the direction of Ph. Gauthier); the year is that of the <i>REG</i> , the number that of the entry
Burstein	S. M. Burstein, <i>The Hellenistic Age from the battle of Ipsos to the death of Cleopatra VII</i> (Cambridge, 1985)
<i>CAH</i>	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
<i>CE</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>C. Ord. Ptol.</i>	M. T. Lenger, <i>Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées</i> (Brussels, 2nd edn., 1980)
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i>
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Classical Review</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres</i>
dr., drs.	drachma, drachmas
<i>Entretiens Hardt</i>	<i>Fondation Hardt. Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique</i>
<i>ESAR</i>	T. Frank (ed.), <i>Economic Survey of Ancient Rome</i> , 5 vols. (Baltimore, 1933–1940)
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin 1923–)
<i>FHG</i>	C. Müller, <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (1841–1870)
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>

Abbreviations

- Holleaux, *Etudes* M. Holleaux, *Etudes d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, ed. L. Robert, 6 vols. (Paris, 1938–69)
- HSCP *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- ICret. *Inscriptiones Creticae*, ed. M. Guarducci, 4 vols. (Rome, 1935–50)
- IDélos *Inscriptiones de Délos*
- IDidyma A. Rehm, *Die Inschriften, Milet*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1914)
- I.Ephesos H. Wankel et al., *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*, 7 vols. (Bonn, 1979–81)
- I.Erythrai H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Die Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai II* (Bonn, 1973)
- IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- IGLS *Inscriptiones graecae et latinae de la Syrie*, ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, J. P. Rey-Coquais (Paris, 1929–)
- I.Ilion P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Ilion* (Bonn, 1975)
- I.Lampsakos P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos* (Bonn, 1978)
- JdI *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JHS *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
- JJP *Journal of Juristic Papyrology*
- JRS *Journal of Roman Studies*
- LCM *Liverpool Classical Monthly*
- ML R. Meiggs and D. M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1969)
- Moretti I and II L. Moretti, *Iscrizione storiche ellenistiche*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1965 and 1976)
- NC *Numismatic Chronicle*
- ob. obol
- OGIS *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1903–5)
- OMS L. Robert, *Opera Minora Selecta*, 7 vols. (Amsterdam, 1969–1990)
- P Papyrus
- PBSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*
- P. Cairo Zen. *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Zenon Papyri*, ed. C. C. Edgar, 4 vols. (Cairo, 1925–31), vol. 5, ed. O. Guéraud and P. Jouguet (Cairo, 1940)
- P. Col. *Zenon Papyri: Business Papers of the Third Century BC dealing with Palestine and Egypt*, vol. 1, ed. W. L. Westermann and E. S. Hasenoehrl (New York, 1934), vol. 2, ed. W. L. Westermann, C. W. Keyes and H. Liebesny (New York, 1940)
- P. Cornell *Greek Papyri in the Library of Cornell University*, ed. W. L. Westermann and C. J. Kraemer jr (New York, 1926)
- PCPS *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*

Abbreviations

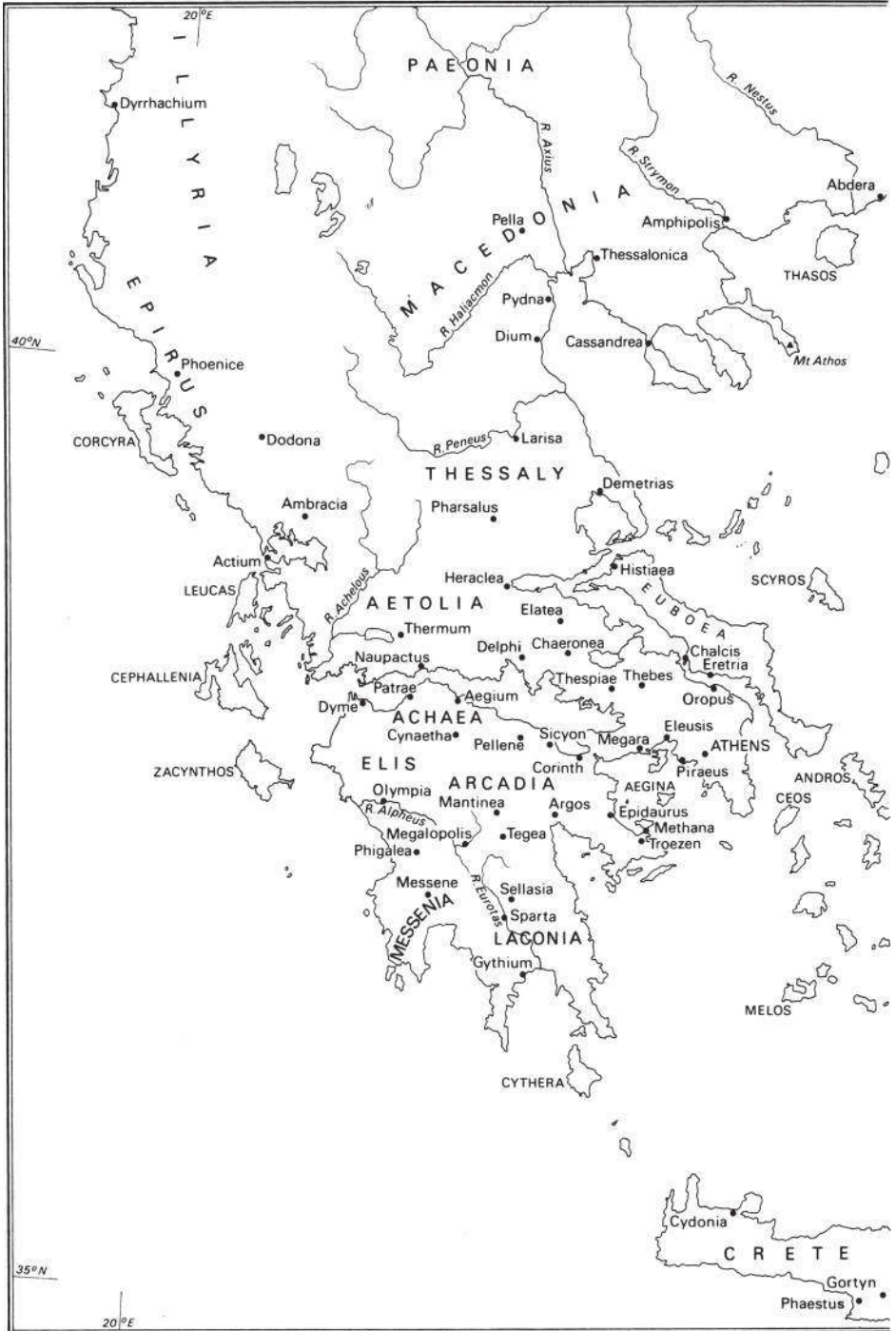
- P. Ent.* O. Guéraud, *ENTEUXEIS. Requêtes et plaintes adressées au roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J. C.* (Cairo, 1931–2)
- P. Grad.* *Griechische Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz*, ed. G. Plaumann (Heidelberg, 1914)
- P. Hib.* *The Hibeh Papyri*, Part I, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (London, 1906), Part II, ed. E. G. Turner and M. T. Lenger (London, 1956)
- P. Lond.* *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. 7, *The Zenon Archive*, ed. T. C. Skeat (London, 1974)
- P. Mich. Zen.* *Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection*, vol. I *Zenon Papyri*, ed. C. C. Edgar (Ann Arbor, 1931)
- PP* *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, ed. W. Peremans and E. van't Dack, 8 vols. to date (Louvain, 1950–75) Available online at http://prospol.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/index_i.html
- PSI* *Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto*, ed. G. Vitelli, M. Norsa et al. (Florence, 1912–)
- P. Tebt.* *The Tebtunis Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly et al., 3 vols. in 4 (London, 1902–38), vol. IV ed. J. G. Keenan and J. C. Shelton (London, 1976)
- P. Yale* *Yale Papyri in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*, ed. J. F. Oates, A. E. Samuel and C. B. Welles (New Haven, 1967)
- REA* *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*
- RC* C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, 1934)
- REG* *Revue des Etudes Grecques*
- Rev. Num.* *Revue de Numismatique*
- RPh* *Revue de Philologie*
- SB* *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, ed. F. Preisigke, F. Bilabel, E. Kiessling (Strasbourg, Berlin, Heidelberg etc. 1913–)
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
- Sel. Pap.* A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri* (Loeb edition), 2 vols. (London, 1932 and 1934)
- SGDI* *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, ed. H. Collitz and F. Bechtel (Göttingen, 1884–1915)
- Staatsv.* II, III *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, vol. II ed. H. Bengtson, *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.* (Munich, 1962); vol. III ed. H. H. Schmitt, *Die Staatsverträge von 338 bis 200 v. Chr.* (Munich, 1969)
- Syll.*³ *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols. (3rd edn., 1915–24)
- TAPA* *Transactions of the American Philological Association*
- Tod, GHI II* M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* vol. II (Oxford, 1948)

Abbreviations

- UPZ U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, 2 vols. (Berlin, Leipzig, 1922–7 and 1957)
- W. Chrest. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, Berlin, 1912) (References are all to Part I, vol. II by U. Wilcken)
- YCS *Yale Classical Studies*
- ZPE *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*



1. The Hellenistic World, adapted from E. Will, *Le Monde grec et l'orient* (Paris, 1975),



2. The Greek mainland, the Aegean and Asia Minor, adapted from W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilization* (London, 3rd edn. 1952), 8–9

